

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O R 192051Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7923

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 2618

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: US-EC NINE MEETING ON DRAFT DECLARATION:
SUMMARY

PARIS PLEASE PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

1. EC NINE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MET OCTOBER 18-19 IN
COPENHAGEN WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL AND NSC
STAFF MEMBER SONNENFELDT TO DISCUSS US-EC NINE
DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. MARATHON SESSION OCTOBER 18,
IN WHICH DISCUSSION WAS BASED ON NEW EC NINE DRAFT,
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YIELDED SOME PROGRESS, REFLECTED IN FURTHER REVISED
EC NINE DRAFT OF PARAS COVERING PREAMBLE, GENERAL
PRINCIPLES AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WHICH WAS TABLED
OCTOBER 19 (TEXT SEPTTEL). HOWEVER, NINE CONTINUED

FIRMLY TO RESIST US EFFORTS TO BALANCE EC DRAFT THROUGH PROPOSALS RELATED TO INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ISSUES (WHICH NINE CALL "GLOBALIZATION"); CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP AND NEW FORMS OF CONSULTATION. MOREOVER, NINE INSISTED UPON SPECIFIC RECOGNITION THAT EUROPEAN UNION WILL SERVE NINE'S OBJECTIVES, AS DISTINCT FROM THOSE SHARED WITH US. NINE OFFERED ONLY PRELIMINARY FURTHER VIEWS ON FINAL SECTIONS OF TEXT COVERING ECONOMIC ISSUES IN STATEMENT BY WELLENSTEIN (EC COMMISSION) (SEPTEL), THOUGH ON SOME OF THESE, THE US AND NINE POSITIONS DO NOT APPEAR FAR APART. IN GENERAL, NINE HEWED CLOSELY TO AGREED COMMON POSITIONS, WITH EYES OF OTHER EIGHT CAREFULLY COCKED ON FRENCH. EXCHANGES THUS HAD A LARGELY BILATERAL FLAVOR THROUGHOUT. UPSHOT OF MEETING WAS AGREEMENT THAT US AND NINE WOULD FURTHER CONSIDER VIEWS EXPRESSED, AND MEET AGAIN ON DATE TO BE DECIDED. NO EFFORT AT JOINT DRAFTING BETWEEN NINE AND US WAS UNDERTAKEN IN COURSE OF SESSION, AND NO COMMITMENT WAS MADE BY NINE AS TO WHEN THEIR PROPOSED REVISIONS OF ECONOMIC PARAGRAPHS OF DRAFT WOULD BE AVAILABLE. SENIOR EC NINE REPS WERE: VAN WELL (FRG), PUAUX (FRANCE), KEATING (IRELAND), DUCCI (ITALY), WURTH (LUXEMBOURG), VAN LYNDEN (NETHERLANDS), WRIGHT (UK), DAVIGNON (BELGIUM), AND OLDENBURG (DENMARK) (CHAIRMAN IN ADDITION, WELLENSTEIN AND MEYER OF EC COMMISSION WERE PRESENT.

2. FOLLOWING WERE MAIN POINTS AT ISSUE:

A) PARTNERSHIP. US REPS STRESSED US INTEREST IN AVOIDING IMPRESSION OF SEPARATENESS OF US AND NINE, AND NEED TO UNDERLINE COMMONALITY AND COOPERATION IN RELATIONS. STRONGLY COUNTERVAILING NINE VIEWS HINGED ON PREMISE THAT THE NINE WERE AT THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS OF SELF-REALIZATION, AND THAT SUPPLENESS WAS REQUIRED AS EUROPE SOUGHT TO DEFINE ITSELF. PUAUX JOINED DAVIGNON AND VAN LYNDEN IN STRESSING THAT THE NINE WERE IN A NASCENT STAGE, AND OLDENBURG SAID NINE'S SECRET

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UNITY MUST NOT "BE CLOUDED" BY BECOMING TEN. RECONCILING GROWING INDEPENDENCE OF NINE AND INTERDEPENDENCE OF NINE AND US WAS SEEN BY DUCCI AS A PROBLEM BEST RESOLVED BY THE PREPARATION OF SEPARATE US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS. WHILE HE AND OTHERS PLEDGED CONTINUED COOPERATION, THEY ATTACHED PRIORITY TO RECOGNITION OF THE EMERGENCE OF EUROPEAN UNION. PUAUX GRANTED THE IMPORTANCE OF NATO, BUT POINTED OUT THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND US WERE STILL TAKING SHAPE AND THUS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED IN THEIR PRESENT GOOD STATE; HE SAW NO NEED FOR THEIR INTENSIFICATION, AND HAD DIFFICULTY DEFINING "PARTNERSHIP". IN SEVERAL INTERVENTIONS, US REPS POINTED TO NEED TO PUBLICLY REFLECT A COMMON COURSE, AND TO RECOGNIZE THE

IMPORTANCE OF PARTNERSHIP, WHICH UNDERPINS WESTERN SECURITY AND THUS SHOULD BE ACKNOWLEDGED. NINE, HOWEVER, STOOD FIRM ON OBLIQUE FORMULATIONS, SUCH AS "TRADITIONAL RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS"

(PARA 7 OF NEW EC TEXT), AND "NEED FOR US AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO REMAIN CLOSELY LINKED" (PARA 6 OF NEW EC TEXT).

B) INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISSUES. NINE HELD FAST ON POSITIONS STAKED OUT BY OLDENBURG AT OUTSET THAT PROBLEMS OF "TRADE, MONEY OR DEFENSE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE TREATED SEPARATELY, EACH IN THE APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL FORUM", AND THAT "HE SHALL NOT THEREFORE BE ABLE TO ACCEPT ANY LANGUAGE WHICH IMPLIES SUCH A NEGOTIATING LINK". DESPITE EFFORTS BY US REPS TO UNDERLINE IMPORTANCE OF REALITY OF INTER-RELATIONSHIPS, AND CIRCULATION BY US OF SUGGESTED TEXT, "RECOGNIZING A MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE REINFORCED BY THEIR LONG ASSOCIATION IN MANY FIELDS", NINE RESISTANCE TO "GLOBALIZATION" OF NEW EC PARA 7 WAS STAUNCH, AND BECAME ENTWINED IN NINE ARGUMENTATION AGAINST EMBRACING THE CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP. NINE DID ACCEPT, HOWEVER, US SUGGESTION WHICH LED TO FORMULATION IN PARA 5 OF NEW EC DRAFT "DESIROUS THAT THEIR RELATIONS IN ALL SPHERES BE ON AN EQUAL BASIS AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS AND CONSCIOUS OF THE BENEFITS THAT THEIR CITIZENS ENJOY FROM THE WIDE RANGE OF MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THEIR COUNTRIES."

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C) CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION. BECAUSE ONLY GENERAL VIEWS WERE EXCHANGED ON ECONOMIC ISSUES (SEPTEL) OPPORTUNITY DID NOT ARISE TO PRESS NINE FOR ACQUIESCENCE TO US LANGUAGE ON PRIOR CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC SPHERE BEYOND STATEMENTS OF IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO THIS OBJECTIVE. MOREOVER, CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION ASPECTS, AS EMBODIED IN PREAMBLE, GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS SECTIONS, ALSO BECAME ENMESHED IN DEBATE OVER PARTNERSHIP. FROM OUTSET, THE NINE MADE CLEAR THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT FORMULATIONS IMPLYING NEW MACHINERY AND PROCEDURES. US REPS ARGUED THAT US HAS NO SPECIFIC NEW MACHINERY IN MIND, BUT THAT DOCUMENT SHOULD PROVIDE A SENSE OF OPENNESS TO FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. MOREOVER, US DOES NOT LOOK UPON ESTABLISHMENT OF EC AS AN END IN ITSELF. INSOFAR AS COOPERATION WITH THE NINE IS CONCERNED, US SEES EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND THAT OF US AS BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS, RATHER THAN SEEING NINE IN A DISCRETE ROLE. PARA 9 OF NEW EC DRAFT REFLECTED EFFORT BY NINE, THEY SAID, TO MEET US POINTS, AND US REPS WELCOMED MOVEMENT REPRESENTED BY NINE'S FORMULATION."

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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EXDIS

"THEY WILL EXPLOIT TO THE FULL, IN A FASHION APPROPRIATE TO THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY ALL THE EXISTING CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATIONS, COOPERATION AND CONSULTATION AMONG THEM." HOWEVER, US REPS ALSO SAID THIS FELL SHORT OF US EXPECTATIONS, AND WOULD BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW.

D) EMERGENCE OF EC AS A BEGINNING NOT CULMINATION.

US INTRODUCED AMENDMENT TO PREAMBLE AIMED AT UNDERLINING THAT US AND NINE WERE ENTERING A NEW STAGE IN THEIR ELATIONS THAT REQUIRED A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO MEET NEW CHALLENGES.

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NINE WATERED DOWN US PROPOSAL TO FORMULATION IN PARA 2 OF NEW EC TEXT, "RECOGNIZING THAT A NEW DIMENSION IS THUS BEING ADDED TO THEIR RELATIONS." WHILE WELCOMING NINE EFFORT, US LATER PROPOSED A STRONGER FORMULATION, "RECOGNIZING THAT NEW SIMENSIONS THUS ADDED TO THEIR RELATIONS OPENED NEW PERSPECTIVE OFFERING FRESH OPPORTUNITIES", AND RE-EMPHASIZED THAT US VIEWED

EMERGENCE OF NINE AS THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS AND NOT A CULMINATION.

E) ALLIANCE TIES AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS. NINE RESISTED REFERENCE IN PREAMBLE TO THE ALLIANCE, PREFERRING TO SUBSUME REFERENCE IN OPERATIVE PARA 15 IN NEW EC DRAFT UNDER RUBRIC OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. US EFFORT TO RESTORE PREAMBULAR REFERENCE AND STRENGTHEN NATO PARTNERSHIP ASPECT LED TO NINE RIPOSTE THAT NEW EC PARA 5 REFERS TO NEED TO REMAIN CLOSELY LINKED AND THAT ALL OF NINE WERE NOT NATO MEMBERS. (MEMBER OF NETHERLANDS DEL TOLD US PRIVATELY IRISH HAD AGREED ONLY WITH GREATEST RELUCTANCE TO EC LANGUAGE.) FURTHER US EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN PARA 15 AND 16 OF NEW EC DRAFT BY HIGHLIGHTING HARMONIZATION OF POLICIES AS AN EFFECTIVE PRECONDITION OF DEALING WITH USSR SPARKED SHARP REBUTTAL BY PUAUX, WHO SAID DETENTE WAS BORN IN EUROPE, AND NINE BELIEVED IT ESSENTIAL TO RETAIN AUTONOMY IN DETENTE. EC WORDING, HE SAID, WAS A MAJOR CONCESSION, AND NINE WANTED TO PRESERVE PARA 15 OF NEW EC TEXT. US REPS SAID OUR AIM WAS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT THERE EXISTS ONLY ONE ROUTE TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BUT THAT THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS WAS TO PRECEED IN HARMONY AND CLOSE COOPERATION WITH US. DAVIGNON, WRIGHT, DUCCI, WURTH AND OLDENBURG SUPPORTED PUAUX, WITH LAST STRESSING ADVANTAGE TO WEST OF NOT APPEARING, LIKE THE EAST, AS A BLOC. IN LIGHT OF SOVIET ANTAGONISM TO EC, WRIGHT SAW ADVANTAGE IN PARA 16 OF NEW EC TEXT OF REAFFIRMATION OF VALUE OF EUROPEAN UNION AS A FACTOR IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. DAVIGNON THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT EUROPEAN UNION WAS NOT CONTRADICTORY TO DETENTE. US REPS POINTED OUT THAT, IF TIES WITH US WERE IMPORTANT, AS MANY HAD SUGGESTED, THEN SEPARATE NINE ROLE SHOULD NOT BE STATED SO BALDLY. THEY CALLED FOR
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MORE BALANCE BETWEEN ROLES OF NINE AND US IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

US REPS ALSO REGRETTEED ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS OTHER THAN CSCE (PARA 17 OF NEW EC DRAFT), AND CIRCULATED NEW FORMULATION, "THEY ALSO NOTE THAT OTHER IMPORTANT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS, AND THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR BOTH THE US AND EUROPE REQUIRE CONTINUED CLOSE CONSULTATION TO ASSURE THAT THEIR SECURITY REMAINS UNDIMINISHED."

US REPS CONCLUDED DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT BY RECALLING US HAD STRESSED FROM OUTSET IMPORTANCE OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN COMMON AND NATIONAL PURPOSES, AND FOR BALANCE BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND COMMONALITY.

F) SEPARATE IDENTITY OF THE NINE. WHILE REFLECTED IN DEBATE OVER SEVERAL PARAS, AND PARTICULARLY OVER ISSUE OF PARTNERSHIP, STRONG NINE DESIRE FOR RECOGNITION OF SEPARATE IDENTITY EMERGED FORCEFULLY IN THEIR REFUSAL TO INTORDUCE INTO PARA 10 OF NEW EC DRAFT, WHICH RECOGNIZES CREATION OF EC, REFERENCE TO COOPERATION WITH THE US, WHICH THEY PLACED, HOWEVER, IN ENSUING PARAS 11 AND 12. NINE ALSO RESISTED THE US PROPOSAL TO AVOID THE DICHOTOMY IMPLICIT IN THE PREAMBULAR FORMULATION "THE US, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE EC AND ITS MEMBER STATES ON THE OTHER HAND." HOWEVER, TYE MOVED THIS PHRASE TO PARA 9 OF THE NEW EC DRAFT IN AN EFFORT TO OFFSET ITS IMPACT. US REPS SUGGESTED ON PERSONAL BASIS THAT PROBLEM MIGHT BE RESOLVED BY A FORMULATION IN PARA 9 ON THE FOLLOWING LINES; "THE US AND THE EC AND ITS MEMBER STATES ACTING AS SEPARATE ENTITIES IN A COMMON ENDEAVOR, UNDERTAKE ETC."

G) GENERAL ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. NINE RESISTED PROPOSED US AMENDMENTS TO NEW EC PARA 14, WHICH US REPS INDICATED WERE EFFORT TO OVERCOME IMPLICATION THAT AUTOMATIC BENEFITS TO WORLD TRADE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD ENSUE FROM EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. US AIM WAS TO STRESS THAT BENEFITS, WOULD FLOW FROM INTENSIFIED
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COOPERATION, RATHER THEN FROM UNIFICATION ITSELF. THUS, US COULD NOT ACCEPT NINE TEXT. WELLENSTEIN SUGGESTED THAT THIS PARA BE ADDRESSED LATER, TOGETHER WITH OTHER PARAS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. CROWE

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